

## Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY BERN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1963

C O N F I D E N T I A L BERN 0134

NODIS

FOR DEPUTY UNDERSECRETARY EAGLEBURGER AND ASSISTANT  
SECRETARY SCHAUFEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OREP (MORGAN, MARK/COUGHLAN, WILLIAM)

SUBJ: STAFFDEL MORAN/COUGHLAN

REF: STATE 6917, BERN 107, STATE 6740

I SPENT SLIGHTLY MORE THAN ONE HOUR WITH MORAN  
LAST EVENING. I BELIEVE HE WAS UNDER THE IMPRESSION I  
WAS INVOLVED AND INFORMED ABOUT ANGOLA AT LATER TIMES  
THAN WAS THE CASE. IN ANY CASE, I FOUND HE EXPECTED  
MORE UP-TO-DATE INFORMATION FROM ME THAN I WAS IN A  
POSITION TO PROVIDE.

2. HIS MOST POINTED QUESTION, WHICH HE INDICATED HE WAS  
ASKING UNDER INSTRUCTIONS, WAS WHEHTER I HAD ANY KNOWLEDGE  
OF AMERICAN PILOTS OR OTHER AMERICAN PERSONNEL DIRECTLY  
INVOLVED IN THE ANGOLAN CIVIL WAR. I SAID I HAD OF COURSE READ  
RECENT PRESS STORIES BUT HAD NO KNOWLEDGE OR INFOR-  
MATION OF ANY KIND ON THIS.

3. MORAN DESCRIBED A CONVERSATION HE HAD HAD WITH YOU,  
BILL (APPARENTLY ED FUGIT WAS WITH YOU). HE DESCRIBED  
HIS UNDERSTANDING OF THE DEPARTMENT'S POSITION AS  
ESSENTIALLY VIEWING THE ANGOLAN QUESTION ON TWO LEVELS.  
ON THE UPPER LEVEL WAS THE GREAT POWER ASPECT, INCLUDING  
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OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION. ON THE LOWER

LEVEL WAS THE AFRICAN ASPECT OF THE MATTER. MORAN INDICATED THAT HE WOULD TELL AGUSTINO NETO ON BEHALF OF THE DEPARTMENT, IF HE SAW HIM, THAT THE UNITED STATES IS NOT DESIROUS OF MIXING INTO AFRICAN ASPECTS OF THE MATTER AND THAT OUR INTEREST STARTS AND STOPS WITH THE SOVIET-CUBAN INVOLVEMENT. MORAN SAID HE HAD BEEN TOLD BY U.S. GOVERNMENT SOURCES THAT AFRICAN STATES WERE AMBIVALENT ABOUT THE SOUTH AFRICAN INTERVENTION AND WERE PRIVATELY FAR MORE CONCERNED ABOUT THE SOVIET DANGER AND FAR MORE UNDERSTANDING ABOUT THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESENCE THAN THEY WERE PREPARED TO ACKNOWLEDGE IN PUBLIC. MORAN ASKED ME IF I COULD CONFIRM THIS. I SAID I DID NOT HAVE EVIDENCE OF THIS, BUT THAT THE TIMING OF MY CONCERN WITH ANGOLAN MATTERS AS ASSISTANT SECRETARY WAS SUCH THAT I DOUBTED THAT I WOULD HAVE SEEN SUCH EVIDENCE IN ANY CASE. IN ANSWER TO ANOTHER QUESTION, I EXPRESSED SKEPTICISM THAT THE DEPARTMENT WAS SAYING THAT AFRICAN STATES PLACED PERIPHERAL OR MINOR IMPORTANCE ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN INTERVENTION.

4. FROM MORAN'S LINE OF QUESTIONING I GATHERED HE WOULD HAVE BEEN PLEASED TO HAVE ME SAY THAT AMERICAN DISENGAGEMENT WOULD BE "COST-FREE" IN TERMS OF OUR INFLUENCE AND STANDING IN AFRICA. I DECLINED TO DO SO, SAYING THAT I COULD NOT MAINTAIN THAT AN MPLA VICTORY IN ANGOLA WOULD BE FREE OF REPERCUSSIONS IN ZAIRE, ZAMBIA AND OTHER PLACES. COUNTRIES RESPOND TO THEIR PERCEPTIONS OF SUCCESS AND FAILURE AND THE EFFECTIVENESS AND INEFFECTIVENESS OF THE POLICIES PURSUED BY THE WORLD'S GREAT POWERS. IT IS ALSO OBVIOUS THAT THE MORE COMMITTED AND INVOLVED WE ARE, THE MORE IMPORTANT THE OUTCOME BECOMES.

5. SIMPLY FROM READING PRESS ACCOUNTS, I OBSERVED THAT THE NIGERIAN-ZAIREAN RELATIONSHIP AND THE ZAMBIAN-TANZANIAN-MOZAMBIQUE RELATIONSHIP SEEM TO HAVE GOTTEN CAUGHT UP IN THE ANGOLA QUESTION. THE CROSS CURRENTS OF AFRICAN POLITICS OBVIOUSLY INFLUENCE AFRICAN NATIONS' PERCEPTIONS AND DESIRES CONCERNING A MORE OR LESS ACTIVE U.S. ROLE.

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6. MORAN ASKED ME TO COMMENT ABOUT THE SENATE VOTE IN DECEMBER AND MY VIEW OF IT. THIS I DECLINED TO DO.

7. MORAN ASKED ME ABOUT PEOPLE HE SHOULD SEE IN KINSHASA AND LUSAKA. I URGED HIM TO CONSULT OUR AMBASSADORS IN EACH PLACE, POINTING OUT THAT WALTER

CUTLER HAD BEEN DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL AFRICAN AFFAIRS, AND WAS HIGHLY COMPETENT AND KNOWLEDGEABLE. HE INDICATED THAT HE HOPED TO SEE PRESIDENT KAUNDA, AND I MENTIONED IN PASSING THAT I HAD FOUND MARK CHONA PERCEPTIVE AND KNOWLEDGEABLE; BUT I REITERATED THAT HE SHOULD CONSULT OUR AMBASSADOR ABOUT ANY LOCAL CONTACTS.

8. MORAN TOLD ME HE WOULD REGARD OUR CONVERSATION AS FOR THE SENATOR'S BACKGROUND.  
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